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Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY: EUR/RPM:JAFROEBE
APPROVED BY: EUR:GSVEST
EUR/RPM:SJLEDOGAR
OSD:AMB. KOMER
OSD/ISA:JSIENNA
EUR/CAN:CCLEMENT
EUR/WE:MLISSFELT
EUR/NE:RWOODS
EUR/SE:JMORTON
EUR/CE:WWOESSNER
D:DLAMB (SUBS)
S/S-O:TMARTIN
NSC:RHUNTER
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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 132797 TOSEC 060016

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (ADDITIONAL CLEARANCES OMITTED)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, MPOL

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: PROPOSED LETTERS FROM YOU TO
NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS ASKING SUPPORT FOR NATO SUMMIT
INITIATIVES (S/S 7810437)

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TO THE SECRETARY FROM EUR--GEORGE VEST THROUGH UNDER
SECRETARY NEWSOM

1. ISSUE FOR DECISION:

WHETHER OR NOT TO SEND LETTERS FROM YOU TO THE
NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS ASKING FOR THEIR SOLID SUPPORT FOR
A SUCCESSFUL NATO SUMMIT.

2. ESSENTIAL FACTORS:

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OUR OBJECTIVES AT THE NATO SUMMIT NEXT WEEK ARE TO
SHOW ALLIANCE UNITY AND CONFIDENCE, TO DEMONSTRATE
THE EFFECTIVENESS OF US LEADERSHIP IN NATO, TO REAFFIRM
OUR COMMITMENT TO THE SECURITY OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC
COMMUNITY, AND TO CONVINCE CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN

PEOPLE THAT OUR ALLIES ARE BEARING THEIR FAIR SHARE OF
THE BURDEN. ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL MEANS TOWARD THESE
ENDS WILL BE SUMMIT APPROVAL OF THE NATO INITIATIVES
LAUNCHED LAST MAY. TO ASSURE THAT ALLIED HEADS OF
STATE AND GOVERNMENT MAKE THE NEEDED POLITICAL COMMITMENT
AT THE SUMMIT, WE PROPOSE THAT YOU WRITE YOUR ALLIANCE
COLLEAGUES ASKING THAT THEY URGE THEIR LEADERS TO DO
SO HERE IN WASHINGTON NEXT WEEK. YOUR LETTERS TO
FOREIGN MINISTERS WOULD ALSO FOLLOW UP SEC BROWN'S
EARLIER APPROACHES TO HIS COLLEAGUES, AND WOULD BUILD
ON THE POSITIVE OUTCOME OF LAST WEEK'S DEFENSE MINISTERS'
MEETING IN BRUSSELS.

THE PROPOSED LETTERS ARE ADAPTED TO THE PARTICULAR
NATIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES AS NECESSARY.

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3. RECOMMENDATION:

THAT YOU APPROVE THE PROPOSED LETTERS ATTACHED.

4. CLEARED BY: OSD: AMB. KOMER EUR/SE: JMORTON
OASD/ISA: JSIENA EUR/CAN: CCLEMENT
EUR/WE: MLISSFELT EUR/NE: RWOODS
EUR/CE: WWOESSNER EUR/RPM: SJLEDOGAR
NSC;RHUNTER
DRAFTED BY: EUR/RPM: JAFROEBE, JR.

5. BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. MINISTER (FOR CANADA - DEAR DON; FOR UK -
DEAR DAVID; FOR FRG - DEAR HANS-DIETRICH):

ON THE EVE OF THE NATO SUMMIT, I WANT TO GIVE YOU
MY VIEW OF WHAT THE ALLIANCE MIGHT TRY TO DERIVE FROM
THIS MEETING. I AM ALSO WRITING TO OUR OTHER ALLIANCE
COLLEAGUES ALONG THESE LINES.

I BELIEVE WE MAY NOT SOON AGAIN HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY
OFFERED BY THIS GATHERING OF ALLIANCE LEADERS. THIS
SUMMIT, FOLLOWING ON OUR LONDON MEETING A YEAR AGO,
WILL CAP A YEAR OF INTENSIVE EFFORT TO DEAL WITH
THE CHALLENGES WE FACE COLLECTIVELY. QUITE CONSCIOUSLY,
WE HAVE AROUSED THE EXPECTATIONS OF OUR OWN PEOPLES,

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AND HAVE PUT OUR ADVERSARIES ON NOTICE.

THIS SUMMIT CAN GIVE OUR PEOPLES THE RENEWED CONFIDENCE IN THE SECURITY OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC

COMMUNITY THAT WE ALL NEED TO ORDER TO GRAPPLE MORE EFFECTIVELY WITH THE INTERNAL CHALLENGES OUR SOCIETIES CONFRONT. EQUALLY, THE SUMMIT CAN CONVEY TO OUR ADVERSARIES OUR READINESS TO MEET THEIR MORE ASSERTIVE
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DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY INITIATIVES OF RECENT YEARS.

IN MY VIEW, THE SUMMIT'S REVIEW OF THE INITIATIVES WE COMMISSIONED LAST MAY PROVIDES AN EXCELLENT MEANS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE ENDS. WE CHOSE THESE INITIATIVES CAREFULLY AT THE LONDON SUMMIT IN THE BELIEF THAT A CONCENTRATED EFFORT ON THESE AREAS COULD REAFFIRM THE ALLIANCE CONSENSUS AND SOLIDIFY CONFIDENCE. WE HAVE LABORED HARD THIS PAST YEAR TO PRODUCE THE KIND OF RESULT WE NEED FOR THIS SUMMIT. I BELIEVE WE HAVE SUCCEEDED.

THE ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY WE HAVE DEVELOPED REVALIDATES OUR COMMON PERCEPTION OF THE WARSAW PACT THREAT, AND REAFFIRMS OUR TWIN GOALS OF DETERRENCE AND DETENTE -- AND THE COMPLEMENTARITY BETWEEN THE TUO. THE STUDY THUS ALSO STRENGTHENS THE BASIS OF THE CONSULTATIVE PROCESS IN NATO.

WE WILL ALSO GIVE PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE SEVERAL DEFENSE INITIATIVES. WE CAN TAKE SATISFACTION IN THE SPEED WITH WHICH WE COMMITTED OURSELVES LAST DECEMBER TO THE PACKAGE OF SHORT-TERM IMPROVEMENTS IN SEVERAL DEFICIENT AREAS OF OUR DEFENSE. WE CAN ALSO FIND SATISFACTION IN THE VERY REAL BEGINNING WE HAVE MADE ON TRANSATLANTIC ARMAMENTS COOPERATION -- WHICH IN THE COMPLEXITY OF ITS INTERTWINED ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND MILITARY ISSUES INTRINSICALLY REQUIRES A CONCERTED, LONG-TERM EFFORT BY ALL OF US. THE SUMMIT SHOULD REAFFIRM OUR COMMITMENT TO THIS EFFORT, WHICH IS ESSENTIAL TO A STRENGTHENED COALITION DEFENSE AT A REASONABLE COST.

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A CENTRAL FOCUS OF THE SUMMIT WILL BE THE LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM (LTDP). OUR DEFENSE MINISTERS HAD A HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL MEETING ON THE LTDP, AND RESOLVED ALMOST ALL MAJOR ISSUES. OUR TASK AT THE SUMMIT WILL

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BE TO ENSURE THAT THIS BOLD STEP TOWARD GREATER ALLIANCE COOPERATION THROUGH THE 1980'S RECEIVES SOLID POLITICAL ENDORSEMENT. WE SHOULD COMPLEMENT THIS ENDORSEMENT WITH TWO OTHER ACTIONS. FIRST, WE SHOULD PLEDGE JOINTLY THE VIGOROUS AND TIMELY FOLLOW-THROUGH NECESSARY TO IMPLEMENT THE LTDP. LACKING THIS,

THE PROGRAM COULD QUICKLY BECOME A UNIQUE BUT STILLBORN PLAN. SECOND, WE SHOULD REITERATE OUR PLEDGE TO SEEK INCREASES IN OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE BUDGETS OF THREE PER CENT A YEAR IN REAL TERMS. THESE ARE ESSENTIAL IN LIGHT OF THE SOVIETS' ANNUAL INCREASES OF FOUR OR FIVE PER CENT OVER THE PAST 16-18 YEARS.

OUR AFFIRMATION OF THESE POSITIVE PROGRAMS AT THE SUMMIT WILL PUT THE ALLIANCE ON AN EVEN MORE SOLID FOOTING. CRITICAL TO OUR EFFORT IS THE APPLICATION OF POLITICAL WILL TO THE TASK BEFORE US. I URGE THAT YOU JOIN ME TO IMPRESS ON OUR HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT THE NEED FOR THIS POLITICAL COMMITMENT THAT WILL ASSURE THE OUTCOME WE ALL WANT FOR THIS SUMMIT.

SINCERELY,

END TEXT.

A. FOR PARIS AND ATHENS: DELETE THE PENULTIMATE PARA, AND CHANGE THE SIXTH PARA TO READ: QUOTE. WE WILL ALSO GIVE PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE SEVERAL DEFENSE INITIATIVES. WE CAN TAKE SATISFACTION IN THE VERY REAL BEGINNING WE HAVE MADE ON TRANSATLANTIC ARMAMENTS COOPERATION -- WHICH IN THE COMPLEXITY

OF ITS INTERTWINED ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND MILITARY ISSUES INTRINSICALLY REQUIRES A CONCERTED, LONG-TERM EFFORT BY ALL OF US. THE SUMMIT SHOULD REAFFIRM OUR COMMITMENT TO THIS EFFORT, WHICH IS ESSENTIAL TO A STRENGTHENED COALITION DEFENSE AT A REASONABLE COST. THE DEFENSE PLANNING COMMITTEE HAS MADE NOTABLE HEADWAY ON THE OTHER TWO DEFENSE INITIATIVES, AND THESE WILL BE A CENTRAL FOCUS OF THE DEFENSE PORTION OF THE SUMMIT. END QUOTE.

B. FOR REYKJAVIK: CHANGE THE PENULTIMATE PARA TO READ: QUOTE. A CENTRAL FOCUS OF THE SUMMIT WILL BE THE LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM (LTDP). ONE OF OUR MAJOR TASKS AT THE SUMMIT WILL BE TO ENSURE THAT THIS BOLD STEP TOWARD GREATER ALLIANCE COOPERATION THROUGH THE 1980'S RECEIVES SOLID POLITICAL ENDORSEMENT. WE FULLY RECOGNIZE ICELAND'S UNIQUE, IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE ALLIANCE. YOUR POLITICAL SUPPORT OF THE LTDP

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INITIATIVE WOULD BE MOST VALUABLE. THE LTDP'S OBJECTIVES ARE, WE BELIEVE, ESSENTIAL IN LIGHT OF THE SOVIETS' ANNUAL INCREASES OF FOUR OR FIVE PER CENT OVER THE

PAST 16-18 YEARS. END QUOTE.

C. FOR OTTAWA: IN THE PENULTIMATE PARA, CHANGE THE LAST TWO SENTENCES TO READ: QUOTE. SECOND, I HOPE THAT AT THE SUMMIT CANADA WILL BE ABLE TO JOIN HER ALLIES IN PLEDGING THREE PER CENT REAL ANNUAL GROWTH IN CANADA'S DEFENSE BUDGET. WE UNDERSTAND FROM THE BRUSSELS DEFENSE MINISTERS' MEETING THAT MOST ALLIES WILL BE ABLE TO DO SO. IT WOULD POWERFULLY REINFORCE ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY IF PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU COULD DO THE SAME. I BELIEVE THESE INCREASES ARE ESSENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL

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IN LIGHT OF THE SOVIETS' ANNUAL INCREASES OF FOUR OR FIVE PER CENT OVER THE PAST 16-18 YEARS. END QUOTE.

D. FOR BRUSSELS: INSERT THE FOLLOWING AS A PENULTIMATE PARA: QUOTE. I MUST ALSO TELL YOU THAT WE ARE CONCERNED BY THE FACT THAT, AFTER SEVERAL YEARS IN WHICH BELGIUM HAD ONE OF NATO'S STRONGEST DEFENSE EFFORTS, IT NOW APPEARS THAT, FOR WHATEVER REASON, THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT HAS RESERVATIONS ABOUT A NUMBER OF PROJECTS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE ALLIANCE. I REFER PARTICULARLY TO BELGIUM'S CONTINUED RESERVATIONS ABOUT JOINING HER ALLIES IN REFURBISHING THE HAWK AIR DEFENSE BELT, AND TO YOUR GOVERNMENT'S HESITATION ON AWACS. WE ARE ALSO DEEPLY CONCERNED LEST BELGIUM BE ONE OF THE FEW MAJOR ALLIES WHICH, IN CONTRAST TO ITS EXCELLENT PAST RECORD, MAY BE UNABLE TO PLEDGE THREE PER CENT REAL ANNUAL GROWTH IN ITS DEFENSE BUDGET. END QUOTE.

E. FOR THE HAGUE: INSERT THE FOLLOWING AS A PENULTIMATE PARA: QUOTE. THERE IS ANOTHER MATTER I WANT TO MENTION. THE US HAS A STRONG INTEREST IN THE DEPLOYMENT FORWARD OF A SECOND NETHERLANDS BRIGADE TO STRENGTHEN THE DUTCH SECTOR OF THE CENTER REGION AGAINST SHORT-WARNING ATTACK. THIS HAS BEEN A HIGH PRIORITY FORCE GOAL LEVIED BY THE NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES SINCE 1975; IT WAS ALSO MADE IN THE SHORT-TERM INITIATIVES ENDORSED BY DEFENSE MINISTERS IN DECEMBER 1977 AND IN THE LTDP. THE NETHERLANDS FIRST CORPS MUST DEPLOY FORWARD OVER A MUCH LONGER DISTANCE THAN ANY OTHER CENTER REGION CORPS. YET IT IS THE ONLY CORPS WITH BUT ONE BRIGADE DEPLOYED FORWARD IN PEACETIME. THE US IS NOW BEING ASKED TO DEPLOY A FULL THREE DIVISION CORPS RAPIDLY TO EUROPE

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IN EVENT OF EMERGENCY, WITH PRIORITY OF EMPLOYMENT IN
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THE NORTHERN ARMY GROUP. WE ARE ALSO DEPLOYING A FULL BRIGADE TO NORTHAG IN PEACETIME. OUR CONGRESS IS ASKING WHAT OUR ALLIES ARE DOING TO STRENGTHEN NORTHAG. YOUR DEPLOYMENT OF THE ADDITIONAL BRIGADE WOULD CONTRIBUTE GREATLY TO A POSITIVE ANSWER. AS SECRETARY BROWN TOLD MINISTER SCHOLTEN IN BRUSSELS, WE ARE NOT PRESSING YOUR GOVERNMENT FOR AN ANSWER BY THE SUMMIT, BUT WOULD BE ENORMOUSLY HELPFUL IF YOUR GOVERNMENT COULD AT THAT TIME INDICATE IT WAS POSITIVELY INCLINED. END QUOTE.

F. FOR BONN: INSERT THE FOLLOWING AS A PENULTIMATE PARA: QUOTE. LET ME ADD A PARTICULAR PLEA ON AWACS, WHICH IS NOT ONLY OF GREAT MILITARY VALUE TO ALLIANCE AIR DEFENSE BUT ALSO OF GREAT SYMBOLIC VALUE AS THE ONLY CONCRETE COOPERATIVE PROJECT NOW BEFORE THE ALLIANCE AS WE MEET AT THE SUMMIT. FROM THE DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN MINISTER APEL AND HAROLD BROWN AT BRUSSELS, WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT YOU WILL COME THROUGH. WE ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT BUNDESTAG APPROVAL COULD TAKE TIME. BUT IT WOULD BE A COMPELLING SIGN OF ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY IF AT THE SUMMIT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC COULD PLEDGE IN SOME FORM ITS DETERMINATION TO JOIN IN. END QUOTE.

G. FOR ROME: INSERT THE FOLLOWING AS A PENULTIMATE PARA: QUOTE. WE AMERICANS ARE PARTICULARLY GRATIFIED BY THE GENEROUSLY COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE DISPLAYED BY DEFENSE MINISTER RUFFINI AT THE RECENT DEFENSE MINISTERS' MEETING, AND BY THE ITALIAN PLEDGES ON AWACS. THEY SHOW CLEARLY THAT ITALY IS DETERMINED TO DO HER SHARE IN THE ALLIANCE. END QUOTE.

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